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The Japanese and the Development of Fisheries in Hawai'i, 1900–1920

MANY OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS of Japanese immigrants to community life in Hawai'i since contract immigration began in 1885 are well known, but others are less so. The first-generation Japanese, or Issei, have been predominantly depicted as farmers working on sugar-cane plantations. Historian Gary Y. Okihiro, for example, analyzed Japanese life in Hawai'i primarily within the symbolic framework of the "cane culture."¹ It is true that most of these immigrants were from farming families and became an integral part of the plantation labor force, but this has tended to obscure the important Japanese integration into the "seascapes" of Hawai'i through development of local fisheries.²

Many of the more than 940 Japanese who arrived at Honolulu Harbor aboard the steamer *City of Tokio* in February of 1885 were from Hiroshima and Yamaguchi prefectures. These prefectures included many villages where people engaged in both farming and fishing, especially in the coastal areas along the Gulf of Hiroshima and Suō-Ōshima of Yamaguchi. It is, therefore, natural to assume that some of the early immigrants from these areas, although ostensibly coming to work on plantations, landed in Hawai'i with fishing agendas and chose fishing as a profession after settling into an archipelago with

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rich aquatic resources. Moreover, the increase in the Japanese population preferring fish to meat for daily meals was a solid predictor of the expansion of fish sales and consumption. When Japanese from fishing villages noticed such favorable conditions in Hawai‘i, they lost no time in starting fishing enterprises.

According to dominant accounts, the Issei remained in “peasant” status in Hawai‘i’s highly stratified society until the post–World War II era, when the Nisei (second-generation Japanese) became influential enough to assume leadership in the local community.³ Although they occasionally fought for better wages and living conditions, their efforts did not seriously undermine the white-dominated social and economic structure of the plantation system. Before the end of World War II, business capital in Hawai‘i was largely controlled by a white oligarchy centered on the so-called Big Five companies, namely, Alexander & Baldwin, American Factors, Brewer and Co., Castle and Cooke, and Theo. H. Davies & Co. Big Five power derived from abundant possession of land and exploitation of cheap, unskilled labor imported from abroad.

The prerequisites for establishing fisheries, however, were not the possession of vast land and the massive mobilization of unskilled workers, but were rather advanced fishing skills, efficient fishing boats and gear, and rich experience in treating easily perishable foods. Japanese fishermen with these qualifications came to occupy an economic niche that the Big Five elite had failed to fill. Without being overshadowed by Big Five control, the Japanese at sea succeeded in establishing leadership in the local fishing business, developing it by the early 1920s into Hawai‘i’s third leading industry, following sugar and pineapple production.

Japanese dominance of the fisheries could not be achieved without causing friction with native fishermen and sparked the white elite to undertake a movement to oust the Japanese from Hawaiian waters. Moreover, the Japanese fisheries industry was far from monolithic, and internal discord often tormented budding fishing communities. This essay explores the birth and expansion of Japanese fishing enterprises in the context of ethnic and racial negotiations of power and both favorable and discouraging elements to demonstrate how the Japanese overcame multifarious impediments and dominated Hawaiian waters for the first two decades of the twentieth century.

JAPANESE FISHERMEN ENCOUNTER HAWAI'I

Gorokichi Nakasuji, a fisherman of Tanami in southern Wakayama, originally desired to go to Australia, but upon reading a letter from Hawai'i, he diverted his attention to the middle of the Pacific. Since Gihei Kuno of Wakayama had gone to Canada in 1885 and discovered that a prodigious number of salmon were swarming in the rivers, people from Wakayama had followed him. Among them was Nakasuji's friend, Mankichi Murakami. When Murakami stopped over in Hawai'i on his way to Canada, he saw native Hawaiians engaging in "primitive" skipjack tuna (*Katsuwonus pelamis*) fishing and gave a detailed account in a letter to Nakasuji. This first-hand description of fishing in the Islands caused Nakasuji to recognize Hawai'i's huge potential for skipjack tuna fishing. Soon, he built a fishing boat 31.8 feet long by 5.8 feet wide, and, with a variety of fishing equipment, loaded his new vessel onto a steamship bound for Hawai'i. He himself boarded a separate ship, the *Nan'yōmaru*, with his wife, child, and two fellow fishermen, and sailed for Hawai'i in 1899.⁴ His arrival opened a new era in Island fishing.

As soon as Gorokichi Nakasuji and his company arrived in Honolulu Harbor in December of 1899, he discovered *nehu* (anchovy, *Stolephorus purpureus*) and 'iao (silverside, *Pranesus insularum*), bait fish for skipjack tuna, swimming in large schools in harbors, confirming his belief in the great potential found in Hawaiian waters. Yet despite the bright prospects for large-scale fishing enterprises, there were only four or five wooden boats operating within Honolulu Harbor at the time, and the annual landings of skipjack, as of 1900, were only 190 tons.⁵

In those days, most Japanese fishermen began fishing full-time after the expiration of their plantation work contracts, and fishing brought them quite a good profit.⁶ The body of Japanese fishermen included some "fisherwomen"; Nobu Kurihara of Kasasa-jima, a small island off the coast of Suō-Ōshima, was one of them. She came to Hawai'i on the *City of Tokio* with her husband and children. After working at a sugar mill on the island of Hawai'i, she and her family moved to northeast O'ahu and started fishing in addition to farming on a leased ranch.⁷ Kurihara supported her family by working as a fisherwoman together with her husband while rearing her children. Even if

women did not go fishing, many wives of fishermen supported their family budgets by peddling their catches at plantation sites.⁸ Through fishing and marketing, Japanese women, as well as men, cooperatively contributed to fishing enterprises during the early stages of the Japanese fishing industry.

Hawaiian waters also had Chinese fishermen. They primarily engaged in net fishing in shallow waters without competing with the Japanese. They mainly caught their favorite fish, mullet, in which the Japanese were not particularly interested. Their net fishing, however, came to an abrupt end when a ship cut a net and caused casualties. After that tragic incident, they shifted from fishing to managing mullet fishponds that they obtained from native Hawaiians.⁹ As of 1900, there were 103 ponds from which fish were taken for commercial purposes, and the Chinese entered this business.¹⁰

In contrast to inshore fishing, in which the Japanese and Chinese played a part, offshore fishing was completely dominated by native Hawaiians in those days. Since they deemed the sea to be a great reservoir of food, they had a history of fishing traditions colored with various taboos, called *kapu*, on catching or eating certain kinds of fish. They set out to sea with single or double canoes accommodating two to six persons and conducted pole-and-line fishing for aku (skipjack tuna) with the *pā* lure hook; they attached canoes with the *malau* bait holder in which the live *‘iao* swam about.¹¹ Since the aku were somewhat sacred fish that, according to tradition, had saved an early voyager coming to Hawai‘i from Tahiti from storms at sea by quieting the waters, aku fishing, as influenced by taboos and the seasons, was limited to six months a year. The actual reason behind these taboos was probably protection of spawning and juvenile seasons.¹²

Gorokichi Nakasuji deemed the off seasons imposed on aku fishing as nothing but a manifestation of native laziness and started year-round fishing. Since the fishing boat he brought from Wakayama could accommodate much larger amounts of bait fish than did Hawaiian canoes and its efficiency matched seven of them, his non-stop exploitation brought a great expansion of the aku supply and inevitably lowered prices to 25 percent of the original market value. The drastic fall in prices forced many Hawaiian fishermen to give up their profession and even drove some of them to make an attempt on Nakasuji's life. When native canoes started chasing him out at sea,

signaled by raising a paddle, he filled his sail and navigated his craft at full speed to make his escape. Because the fishing spots of southern Wakayama were about 24 to 50 miles from the coast, boats were built with a slim, lightweight structure that could reach even the farthest fishing grounds within three hours.¹³ It was this type of swift ship that Nakasuji introduced to Hawai'i, which also happened to save his life.¹⁴

This episode of violence was a foreseeable manifestation of the friction caused by the clash of different fishing cultures. Traditionally, native Hawaiians had caught fish principally for the purpose of self-sufficiency, and the fair distribution of the catch had always been a concern of the community.¹⁵ Such a scheme could not compete in the swiftly changing conditions of Hawai'i, where the Japanese population was rapidly expanding. Since many of the Japanese chose a customary diet of vegetables and fish, Hawai'i needed far more aggressive methods of fishing in order to meet the increasing demand. In 1900, the number of Japanese reached fifty thousand, making up nearly 40 percent of the total population in Hawai'i, and this number continued to grow to sixty-five thousand within nine years.¹⁶ Simultaneously, the Japanese fishing population swelled. In 1900, O'ahu had 259 Japanese engaging in fishing, and by 1903, this number had increased to 707. During the same period, the number of native Hawaiians at sea dropped from 654 to 533.¹⁷ The rise of the Japanese and the decline of native fishermen occurred on other islands in the Hawaiian chain, as well, especially on the islands of Hawai'i, Lāna'i, and Maui, where the Japanese competition drove many native fishermen out of business.¹⁸

The rapidly increasing number of Japanese fishermen brought technological innovations and improvement of fishing gear to Hawai'i. Gorokichi Nakasuji devised new fishing methods suitable to the environment of Hawaiian waters. He invented the custom of using an electric light to lure bait fish. He also worked out long-line fisheries for ahi (bigeye tuna, *Thunnus obesus*; bluefin tuna, *Thunnus Thynnus orientalis*; yellowfin tuna, *Thunnus albacores*) after overcoming serious damage to fishing equipment and numerous losses of catches to shark attacks. He was the first in Hawai'i to install a gasoline engine to propel a boat.¹⁹ While innovating techniques and gear, Nakasuji aggressively recruited plantation workers with fishing experience. Since the weekly income of fishermen in those days reached \$30 to \$40 when

plantation workers got only \$18, it was not difficult to persuade them to join the fishing trade.²⁰ In addition, Nakasuji invited approximately 250 people from Tanabe, his hometown, by fully utilizing the nexus of his relatives and localities.²¹ Inspired by the success of Nakasuji and the bright forecast for the fishing industry in Hawai'i, fishermen from Wakayama started coming to the Islands one after another. Their influx resulted in the formation of a squadron in Honolulu called Kishū-katsuosen-gumi (The Kishū Skipjack Tuna-Fishing Fleet); Kishū was an old name for the landmass combining Wakayama prefecture and the southernmost part of Mie prefecture. As of 1907, the Kishū fleet consisted of eight vessels that operated pole-and-line fishing with long bamboo poles and travelled far off the island of Moloka'i in summer and fall and off the 'Ewa coast of O'ahu in winter. Since their aggressive fishing brought enormous amounts of skipjack tuna to the local market, the value dropped to only 10 cents to 20 cents per whole fish, changing it from a rare, expensive fish into one of most affordable ones.²²

THE RISE OF FISHERMEN FROM YAMAGUCHI AND HIROSHIMA AND THE BIRTH OF JAPANESE FISHING COMPANIES

As fishermen from Wakayama worked their way into aku pole-and-line fishing, those from Yamaguchi and Hiroshima gradually rose to prominence in other styles of fishing by using long-lines, nets, and various other instruments. Those from Okikamuro, a small, mountainous island of only 232 acres lying off the coast of Suō-Ōshima in Yamaguchi prefecture, especially enhanced their status within the fishing community in the first decade of the twentieth century. Their lifestyle in Hawai'i was, however, far from temperate. According to one fisherman from Okikamuro, "They drink before fishing, and if the catch was poor, they drink again to change their luck. Of course they drink a lot to celebrate rich hauls. Since they went on sprees with Geisha girls, they spend all the money they had."²³ The frequent gathering and drinking together with other fishermen was financially disastrous and undermined their health, but such behavior was also instrumental in strengthening unity among their members. The solid network of the Okikamuro fleet, nurtured through frequent socialization, allowed its members to share indispensable navigational information, such as

sea currents and weather conditions, in order to explore new fishing grounds. Thanks to the collective knowledge accumulated and shared by the fleet members, they successfully exploited foreign waters and rapidly expanded their fishing enterprises.

In addition to Honolulu, a number of fishermen from Okikamuro settled in Hilo, a promising fishing site, and formed communities there in the early twentieth century. As early as around 1901, they established a rotating credit association, called a *kō*, in Hilo. A *kō*, or often called *tanomoshi*, was an association of people who made regular contributions to a common economic pot, which primarily provided the capital necessary for the startup or expansion of a small business, major purchases, or recreational activities, since there were few banks available. Even if a financial institution was available, it was difficult for Japanese immigrants to obtain loans.

The monetary support from such a mutual-aid association and the close-knit relationship among people of Okikamuro enabled Kamezō Matsuno and Isojirō Kitagawa, both of whom were fish dealers from Okikamuro, to strengthen and broaden their businesses. Matsuno and Kitagawa worked to create the Hilo Suisan [Fisheries] Co. in 1907 with \$1,250 in capital. This was the first Japanese fishing company in Hawai'i. About fifty fishermen and fish peddlers, many of whom were from Okikamuro, bought \$5 shares to support this new company. Those from Hiroshima participated in management as well as owned stock in the company. The second company president, Heitarō Egawa, for example, was from Nihojima in Hiroshima, a village where people used to engage in both fishing and farming until they lost nearby fishing grounds due to massive landfills in the Gulf of Hiroshima.

In Honolulu, the first Japanese fishing company came into existence in 1908. Unlike Hilo, where fishermen and related businesses created the Hilo Suisan Co., in Honolulu, Japanese journalists and other community leaders played a major part in the formation of a new fisheries organization. According to Yasutarō Sōga, president of a Japanese newspaper company, Nippu Jijisha, the Chinese took the most benefit from the fish business despite the Japanese monopoly of the fishing enterprises at the turn of the century.²⁴ The Japanese fishermen grumbled, but remained powerless against the Chinese monopoly of the distribution of fresh fish. Sōga regretted that Japanese fishermen submitted tamely to Chinese control and, what was

worse, wasted their money on drinking. Sometarō Shiba of Hawai Shinpō, another Japanese newspaper company, Matsutarō Yamashiro of the Yamashiro Hotel, and Toshiyuki Mitamura, a medical doctor, supported Sōga and inaugurated a campaign to educate Japanese fishermen to improve their lifestyle and convince them to create an organization representing their own interests. The *Tatsumaru* incident in 1908 made the creation of a Japanese-owned company a pressing concern. The seizing of the Japanese steamship *Tatsumaru* by a Chinese patrol boat off the coast of Macau triggered a strong protest from the Japanese government, despite the fact that the ship had attempted to smuggle firearms and ammunition. Succumbing to pressure from Japan, the Chinese government formally apologized and released the *Tatsumaru*. This compromise so angered the Chinese people that they boycotted Japanese products in Hawai'i, and Chinese merchants refused to buy fresh fish from the Japanese.

The urgent necessity to secure an outlet for the Japanese fishermen, together with a strong push by community leaders, produced the Hawaii Fishing Co., using \$50,000 in capital, in September of 1908. The new company opened the King Fish Market on Kekaulike Street for wholesale and retail sales. Two years later, Matsutarō Yamashiro from Nihojima, Hiroshima, established the Pacific Fishing Co. with \$10,000 capital. The striking difference between the two was the degree of Japanese managerial control. Unlike the Japanese dominance of executive positions at the Hawaii Fishing Co., Yamashiro's company included Chinese in managerial posts. At first, this collaborative management kindled anti-Chinese sentiment among the Japanese fishermen and discouraged many of them from landing their fish. Through considerate efforts and service toward the fishermen, such as buying overabundant harvests of small fish, with which the Hawaii Fishing Co. was unwilling to deal, Yamashiro gradually won the trust of his fishermen and secured the foundation of his enterprise.²⁵ In 1914, another Japanese fishing company, the Honolulu Fishing Co., was born. Chōzaemon Nakafuji from Yamaguchi, Tsurumatsu Kida from Esunokawa, a small fishing village of south Wakayama, and other Japanese served as intermediaries to assist in its formation.²⁶

The establishment of fishing companies and the rivalries among them remarkably stimulated the development of the fishing industry in Hawai'i, since these organizations functioned as a hub connect-

ing fishermen and dealers and as the center of the fish distribution system. The company charged 5 percent to 10 percent commission on the sail haul of the boats before any other deductions, such as fuel, bait, and food, were made.²⁷ Besides auctioning off the landed hauls and securing the benefits, the fishing companies functioned as patrons for the fishing enterprises. They financed necessary expenses for fishing operations, including ice, fuel, water, and food provisions. Accommodating or serving as guarantors for bank loans to build boats was also one of the important jobs of the companies. Thanks to their support, many fishermen obtained their own fishing boats (in Hawai'i, these wooden Japanese-style vessels were called sampans).²⁸ The fishing companies also paid the registration fees and wharfage fees for each new fishing boat. In return for this assistance and support, the fishermen were obliged to land their hauls through their sponsors.²⁹

The supportive characteristics of the fishing companies resembled those of fish merchants in Hiroshima and Yamaguchi, where merchants and fishermen developed paternalistic “protector-and-protégé” or “boss-and-henchman” type relationships. Before the advent of modern financing and marketing systems, the merchants paid in advance for equipment, food, and other miscellaneous necessities for fishing operations, and the fishermen paid back the debt with their hauls.



FIG. 1. Sampan fishing boats at Honolulu Harbor. Hawai'i State Archives.

Since most fishermen were indebted to the merchants, they assumed a subordinate position vis-à-vis their financiers and often succumbed to exploitive treatment. The unequal relationship between the two often allowed the merchants to treat a haul without strict weighing and drove prices down to unreasonably low levels, whereas fishermen could do nothing but accept their patrons' word.³⁰ Japanese entrepreneurs in Hawai'i adopted this paternalistic financing system, but they weakened its feudalistic elements by replacing the arbitrary process of pricing with the public auction system. Unlike merchants in Japan, who often did not immediately pay fishermen for the haul, the new fishing companies made daily payment and assumed responsibility for collecting from the dealers, who were required to make weekly payments.³¹ Instead of working fishermen to the brink of exhaustion, the companies attempted to increase their fishermen's income by lending them money to build their own vessels and allowing them to earn profits from their catches.

This support system used by the fishing companies functioned well in establishing long-lasting, frictionless relationships with the fishermen, since they typically earned higher wages than those in most other occupations. Moreover, the companies made substantial efforts to win the trust and loyalty of the fishermen to build amicable relations with them. Matsutarō Yamashiro of the Pacific Fishing Co., for instance, helped create a *kumiai* cooperative, a mutual-support organization of fishermen, and provided a \$1,000 revolving fund. He also offered prize money for the boat captain with the largest catch each month and hosted a large New Year's banquet for fishermen and retailers. In case of disasters, he dispatched a rescue boat at the company's expense.³² Managers of other fishing companies made similar efforts to secure the loyalties of fishermen by treating them to New Year's parties, providing counseling, extending a helping hand to them, and if necessary, conducting rescue operations for the victims of shipwrecks and helping bereaved families. Through their benevolence and support, the Japanese fishing companies attempted to coexist with fishermen in mutual prosperity.

The three fishing companies were located at the corner of Kekaulike and King Streets, a central part of downtown Honolulu in those days. When a group of Chinese and Japanese merchants who had stalls at the O'ahu Market opened the A'ala Market on Queen Street and Col-

lege Walk in around 1918, the Hawaii Fishing Co. and the Honolulu Fishing Co. relocated there.³³ The new market included the auction houses, storage, handling, weighing, and bookkeeping services. Typically, after a sampan fishing boat arrived at Kewalo Basin, usually very early in the morning, the catch would be transported to an auction house and displayed on the floor for inspection by wholesalers, retailers, and peddlers who regularly appeared at these morning auctions. Large fish were placed side by side on the floor and small ones were put in small lots in preparation for the beginning of the auctions at around 6 a.m. Even if some dealers did not buy fresh fish at the auction, they still came to check the prices and exchange information with fellow dealers.³⁴ Thus, the auction house functioned as a hub of the fishing industry to market fish, exchange critical information regarding fish prices and other miscellaneous matters, and develop social networking among people in the fishing business. In addition, the fish market and the area that surrounded it served as a political center, as well as a nucleus of social activities. Sanford B. Dole, former president of the Republic of Hawai'i, described a gala at the market around 1920:

I have called the old fish market an important institution, for not only was it the one regular market for all Honolulu and for all manner of produce, but it was Honolulu's political center where impromptu mass meetings were held and political orators held forth in election campaigns, usually each one on his rostrum of an over-turned empty salmon barrel; it was, in a way, a social center. . . . Besides the traffic, there was exchange of news, some gossip, much badinage and general merriment. . . .³⁵

This observation suggests that at the center of business, political, and social activities of Honolulu were fishing companies putting together and distributing the harvest of Hawaiian waters.

THE DEALERS' REBELLION AND THE FACTIONALISM OF FISHERMEN

The Japanese fishing companies won the hearts of fishermen and built cooperative relationships with them, but the managerial system was not seamless enough to guarantee the satisfaction of all involved

in the fishing industry. In February 1910, twelve Japanese and eighty Chinese dealers started a joint boycott against the handling of fish auctioned at the Hawaii Fishing Co. Their protest was triggered by a new company policy to allow anyone to participate in the auctions. Previously, only a limited number of fish retailers and wholesalers could. The sudden entry of amateurs caused severe fluctuation in market prices and prompted the dealers to act boldly against the company.

Unlike fishermen, who were obliged to the company for various kinds of support, the dealers had much less commitment to the organization; they were customers rather than peers of the company and purchased its products to sell at leased stalls in a marketplace. In addition, the large presence of Chinese dealers and their powerful guild contributed to a certain distance from the executives of the Hawaii Fishing Co., most of whom were Japanese. These Chinese and Japanese fish dealers agreed that amateur bidders were willing to pay more than professional dealers and unnecessarily raised the general price of fresh fish. They jointly demanded that companies either compensate them for their losses or offer an alternative sales system excluding amateur customers. The negotiations between the Japanese-Chinese dealers and the Hawaii Fishing Co. dragged on for weeks, as both sides refused to compromise; the company defended the policy by arguing that it was natural to eliminate any bidder who was outbid for the product. Moreover, the company had to pay an annual auction license fee of \$600 to the territorial government, so it would be the worst possible choice to stop the auctions and start an alternative sales system. Daunted by strict demands of the dealers, the companies began wholesaling directly to secure an outlet for their products.³⁶

The joint boycott of Honolulu's oldest Japanese fishing company by the Japanese and Chinese fish dealers triggered anger among the Japanese community, which harbored anti-Chinese feelings, and the protesters justified their strategy toward the community by saying, "we don't need to distinguish nationality as long as we share common interests as the same trade."³⁷ The strength of their trans-ethnic ties strikingly contrasted with the ethnic antagonism so prevalent in plantation society, where various ethnic groups were pitted against each other. The "divide-and-conquer" management by white plantation owners, such as facilitating ethnic distinctions in religion and customs and introducing a racially disproportionate pay scale to arouse

racial jealousies, was primarily responsible for the ethnic friction.³⁸ Not until 1920 did the first trans-ethnic strike of Japanese and Filipino workers for better wages and living conditions occur on O'ahu plantations. The fishing industry, on the other hand, was free from divisive manipulations of ethnic relations. As indicated by the joint boycott, the sense of guild or trade association often took precedence over any ethnic antipathy as early as around the early 1910s.

The dealers' strike ended in a victory for the company. The open-access policy of the auction did not change, leaving fish retailers and wholesalers to accommodate to the changing situation. This incident, however, served to demonstrate the independence of the Wakayama fishermen in developing their own marketing channel within the fishing industry. During the boycott, the dealers were able to continue their businesses thanks to the fresh fish coming from the Wakayama skipjack fishing fleet, which operated independently from the Hawaii Fishing Co.³⁹ These fishermen kept a certain distance from their counterparts from Yamaguchi and Hiroshima; they anchored their sampan boats near Pier Sixteen and formed a fishing camp at nearby Honolulu Harbor when other Japanese fishermen used Kewalo Basin and lived in the Kaka'ako area.⁴⁰ It was not until around 1933 that the Wakayama fleet moved to Kewalo Basin and left Honolulu Harbor for cargo ships and freight vessels. The primary reason for their physical distance from other Japanese fishermen was presumably derived from their unique fishing methods. As long as the Wakayama fleet dominated skipjack tuna fishing using its special skills, it did not need to collaborate with other fishermen. Moreover, many of the Wakayama fishermen were inclined to go to the West Coast, using Hawai'i as a stepping-stone for future journeys. Their avid tendency to move to other and better fishing grounds diminished the necessity to establish and maintain deep connections with other Japanese in the same trade.

The distance of Wakayama fishermen from other Japanese resulted in the creation of the Honolulu Fishing Co. with a notable association with fishermen from Wakayama. In fact, each Japanese fishing company in Honolulu had developed special ties with particular prefectures. The Hawaii Fishing Co. was strongly related to those from Yamaguchi, and this connection strengthened when Shinkichi Ueda from Kaminoseki, Yamaguchi, bought the company in 1923, chang-

ing its name to the Hawaii Suisan [Fisheries] Co., and subsequently employed men from Yamaguchi in all of its executive positions. The Pacific Fishing Co., under the leadership of Matsutarō Yamashiro from Nihijima, Hiroshima, had been affiliated with a larger number of fishermen from Hiroshima than its rival corporations. However, such prefectural factionalism in affiliation with particular fishing companies gradually melted away as time went on, as indicated by the fact that Gorokichi Nakasuji, the pioneer fisherman from Wakayama, was affiliated with the Pacific Fishing Co. during the 1920s. In the meantime, more and more sampan owners from Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, and other prefectures came to land their catches through the Honolulu Fishing Co. By the early 1920s, the fishermen came to freely choose to affiliate with companies without strictly considering the prefectural background of a company's management.⁴¹

ANTI-JAPANESE BACKLASH

The political instability in Hawai'i at the turn of the twentieth century, including the toppling of the Hawaiian monarch in 1893, the subsequent switch to a republican government, and the annexation of Hawai'i by the United States in 1898, produced tumultuous confusion in the customs and policies of the fisheries. Since the United States asserted government ownership of coastal waters and extended the principle to the newly acquired Territory of Hawai'i, U.S. rule often conflicted with special fishing rights previously granted by the Hawaiian monarchy. As of 1902, there were twenty-five cases of fishery rights on trial, and the Supreme Court of the territory handed down decisions invalidating the old prerogatives and supporting the newer U.S. governmental policies.

With the extension of U.S. fishery rules to the Territory of Hawai'i, the scenario regarding the influx of Japanese fishermen into Hawaiian waters completely changed. Certain scientists warned that the aggressive exploitation of fish by Japanese methods would have disastrous effects on the fish fauna as a food supply.⁴² The preservation of natural resources often gave a plausible excuse for anti-Japanese forces to take actions to counter the increase in the number of Japanese fishermen. In February 1909, territorial Senator William J. Coelho from Maui introduced a measure to close Hawaiian waters

to noncitizens and impose a fine of \$100 on violators. The territorial senate turned these proposals down, linking them to “stupid actions of the California legislature” and calling them a “direct violation of the treaty rights of other nationalities.”⁴³ This measure obviously aimed at excluding the Japanese from commercial fishing by imitating the anti-Japanese measures in California, where Japanese fishermen first appeared around 1890. By the 1910s, San Pedro and neighboring vicinities of Los Angeles had become the heartland of the Japanese fishing industry in California. The mass appearance of Japanese in California fisheries provoked the state legislature into trying to eliminate Japanese fishermen by levying heavy taxes and imposing various limitations on their operations. The states of Washington and Oregon passed similar rules. It was, however, the white owners of tuna canneries who protected the Japanese fishing rights from the anti-Japanese legislatures and other legal harassment. Since the Japanese were among the primary providers of fresh fish, they needed to be kept active in order to secure the canneries’ business interests. In exchange for the protection of these white entrepreneurs, the Japanese increased their dependency in various ways, for example, living in company-owned houses, and they developed the mentality of being employees of the white fisheries enterprises.⁴⁴ In sharp contrast to the mutual dependency between the Japanese and the white cannery owners found in Los Angeles and San Pedro, Japanese fishing activities in Hawai‘i were carried out without the protection and control of the local white elites. The Japanese, therefore, had to protect their rights through their own efforts in Hawai‘i.

In Hawai‘i, the absence of rival fishermen and the great demand for marine products worked positively toward the preservation of Japanese fishing rights. Unlike the situation in California, where the Japanese had rival fishermen of other ethnic groups, in particular, Italians, Australians, and Slovenians, in Hawai‘i only native Hawaiians were major competitors, and the native presence had drastically dwindled during the first decade of the twentieth century.⁴⁵ The fear of being unable to meet the demand for fresh fish, together with the references to international treaties, crippled Coelho’s attempts to eliminate the Japanese from Hawaiian waters. To the dismay of many Japanese, however, a bill prohibiting net fishing in Hilo Bay for two years was introduced in the territorial legislature and was passed into

law only a week later. Because Hilo was the largest fishing base on the island of Hawai'i and Hilo Bay was a vital fishing ground for fishermen affiliated with the Hilo Suisan Co., the new rule was expected to damage the company's business.

The Hilo Suisan Co. estimated that the new act would devastate more than 250 Japanese fishermen operating in Hilo, which prompted it to start petitions and protests in order to restore fishing rights. When the company discovered such efforts were fruitless, it hired two lawyers and filed a suit in court. In Hilo Circuit Court, company executives as well as fishermen testified and successfully appealed for abolition of the prohibition. This court victory was a blessing for Hilo's fishing industry, but, unfortunately, unexpected legal fees severely strained the company's finances. In order to pay the fees, company executives made the painful choice to raise the commission rate from 5 percent to 10 percent on the sail haul of the boats. This new decision subsequently split the employees and affiliated fishermen into pro and con factions. With the escalation of this internal conflict, the company sued the opponents, while the latter retaliated by suing Kamezō Matsuno, the company manager, accusing him of perjury. The dispute between the two groups escalated until, finally, the opposing parties left the company and formed their own organization, the Hawaii Island Fishing Co.⁴⁶

The wave of anti-Japanese legislation did not stop at breaking up Hilo Suisan Co. A new bill was approved in 1913 which banned the catching of *nehu* and *'iao*, live bait for skipjack tuna fishing, with nets more than twelve feet in length. Since this new rule frustrated Japanese fishing efforts, Japanese community leaders in Honolulu took daring action against it. Sometarō Shiba of *Hawai Shinpō*, Kinzaburō Makino of *Hawai Hōchi*, a reporter of *Nippu Jiji*, Matsutarō Yamashiro of the Pacific Fishing Co., and others embarked on a fishing boat, *Kasugamaru*, at midnight, engaged in *nehu* fishing with banned nets, and deliberately got its captain, Tsurumatsu Kida, arrested. Through the connections of these protestors with the authorities, Captain Kida was released and the restriction on *nehu* and *'iao* fishing was rescinded. This leniency was limited only to the island of O'ahu, and fishermen of the other islands were still under its constraint. In the meantime, fishermen of Maui sued the government in vain. Kinzaburō Makino called them "stupid" and their actions "selfish," but this case also sug-

gests that ordinary fishermen did not hesitate to stand up to protect their own rights without waiting for the instruction of the elite Japanese.⁴⁷ Thereafter, the problem of the limitation on catching *nehu* and *'iao* smoldered for decades to come. The Japanese fishing community had to maneuver amid regulations introduced one after another and expanded their businesses while constantly complying with new rules or slipping through the cracks and, if necessary, by filing suits in court in order to protect their fishing rights.

MATSUJIRŌ ŌTANI CHALLENGES THE BIG FIVE OLIGARCHY

While the arbitrary fishing regulations disturbed fishermen out at sea, the absence of clear guidelines for the sales of fish continuously annoyed merchants, especially fish peddlers. When peddlers put their fish into baskets and went out on sales trips, they were often stopped by the police, who imposed fines on them for sanitary violations. Such actions crippled the livelihoods of many. Matsujirō Ōtani, a young fish dealer from Okikamuro, challenged the rule; in 1910, he deliberately parked his horse-drawn wagon in front of the Department of Health building, got arrested, and brought this issue before the court. He lost this case at the first trial, but won in a higher court. Thereafter, peddlers could publicly sell their goods without fear of police interference or expensive fines.

Matsujirō Ōtani carried out his struggle single-handedly and hired a lawyer at a cost of \$375, which was, according to him, a “strikingly large sum of money.”⁴⁸ He was never a wealthy merchant. He obtained such a large sum exclusively through his hard work and financial support from a *kō* pot. Born in 1890, he came to Hawai‘i in 1908. Three years later, he rented a stall at the King Fish Market and opened a fish store. After that, he gradually diversified his business and started to import and export food-related items and to manufacture *kamaboko* fish cakes. In 1920, he won a bid to furnish canned crab to Armstrong Army Barracks over Theo. H. Davies & Co. and American Factors, both of which were Big Five companies. It was a great blessing for Ōtani’s business, but this decision surprised and even humiliated his rivals. In the negotiating room, the personnel from these two companies took “extremely incomprehensible and unpleasant attitudes” toward Ōtani. Instead of swallowing the insult, he rose up against

the arrogance of the white elite. The very next day, he called up the Davies personnel, accusing them of racial discrimination against the Japanese, and declared he would sever all business ties with them thereafter. He took similar action against American Factors.⁴⁹

Ōtani's action was no mere reckless release of indignation against racism. Rather, his boldness was backed up by his conviction that he could succeed in business without the Big Five companies. The bitter incident at the U.S. Army barracks merely stiffened his resolve to go a step beyond the submissive status created by the white oligarchy in Hawai'i's economy. In the meantime, Davies and American Factors treated Ōtani as a racial subservient by insensitively assuming that this situation was no different from the sugar plantations, where the Japanese remained dependent on the patriarchal control of the Big Five. Unlike the plantation society, however, the fisheries industry of Hawai'i had already developed completely different racial negotiations of power, which Davies and American Factors failed to comprehend. After parting ways with these two companies, Ōtani managed well. With the establishment of the Hawaii Suisan Fishing Co., a successor to the Hawaii Fishing Co., he merged its management with other entrepreneurs of Yamaguchi and worked as one of the prominent backbones of the fishery industry in Hawai'i.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATED INDUSTRIES AND THE BIRTH OF HAWAIIAN TUNA PACKERS

The development of Japanese fishing operations coincided with the expansion of fishing-related industries, including sales of fishing gear and bait and ice making. The boat-building business was also indispensable for the growth of fisheries in Hawai'i. When Gorokichi Nakasuji came to Hawai'i in 1899, he brought a boat he had built at home and transported to the Islands at great cost. The financial burden of such transportation soon became unnecessary, since Japanese boat-builders, mostly from Wakayama, immediately followed fishermen to the Islands. They established yards for construction and repair of fishing boats in the Kaka'ako district of Honolulu and in Hilo and provided services to fishermen.⁵⁰

The birth of a tuna cannery during the late 1910s further expanded the outlets for fish, especially skipjack tuna. F. Walter Macfarlane, a

young pineapple planter who established a cannery on Cooke Street in Kaka'ako, later added a shipyard, hired Japanese craftsmen, and started building fishing boats equipped with gasoline engines. Since his business expertise was land-based, he was not familiar with the seafood industry. Therefore, he invited professionals in canned tuna production from the mainland and provided them with high salaries. He also introduced an innovative system of hiring fishermen on a monthly salary, but this increased personnel expenses, worsening the financial condition of the company. Finally, Macfarlane gave up the cannery and sold the factory to American Factors, but operations under the new management did not go well. Only slightly more than one year after the takeover, a group of Americans and Japanese entrepreneurs and fishermen purchased all the facilities at a low price and restarted the company as Hawaiian Tuna Packers Ltd. in 1922. E. C. Winston became the first president of the company, Matsutarō Yamashiro assumed the vice-presidency, his eldest son, Matsuichi, took the post of secretary, and Tsurumatsu Kida, a sampan boat captain, became a director. Under the joint management of Americans



FIG. 2. Waiakea River in Hilo. Hawai'i State Archives.

and Japanese, the reorganized company greatly improved productivity and steadily increased its sales.⁵¹ Just after its birth, the Hilo Suisan Co. also started a tuna cannery.⁵² The birth and development of tuna canneries gave great impetus to the local skipjack tuna fishery. Before the advent of these plants, the skipjack fishery in Hawai'i provided only for the local market, but these tuna canneries paved the way for sales to outside markets.

Because the great increase in demand for fish necessitated the hiring of more skilled fishermen, Yamashiro and Kida went to Wakayama and recruited thirty-seven experienced fishermen and their families to move to Hawai'i.⁵³ Other fishermen from Wakayama also encouraged their old colleagues from their home villages, and the size of the skipjack tuna fleet in Hawai'i increased markedly.⁵⁴ In order to secure a stable supply of fish, Hawaiian Tuna Packers introduced a support system from Japanese fishing companies and aggressively financed skilled fishermen to build their own sampans in exchange for exclusive rights to their catches. In the meantime, the cannery deepened its relationships with the fishing companies by agreeing to purchase and market fish and other marine life caught accidentally by cannery-affiliated sampans. The fishing companies often reciprocated by providing skipjack tuna to the cannery whenever the cannery was short of fish. Through this mutual exchange of fish and support for each other, the two organizations collaboratively worked as the driving force in the development of commercial fishing in Hawai'i.

CONCLUSION

"It should be said that fishing in Hawai'i is exclusively in the hands of Japanese. Although there are fishermen of other ethnicity, they are far from our major competitors."⁵⁵ This statement, published in 1922 by the Japanese Chamber of Commerce in Honolulu, was not extraordinary in perception. Unlike the situation in Hawai'i's sugar industry, where Japanese workers succumbed to a status of "economic dependency,"⁵⁶ Japanese on sampan boats had established control of Island waters and dominated the fisheries from fishing operations to the processing and marketing of various marine products. It was a significant phenomenon in Hawai'i, where the main capital of the Islands had been concentrated in the hands of the Big Five oligarchy.

Their domination, however, could not infiltrate the fishing industry. The failures of F. Walter Macfarlane and American Factors in managing their tuna cannery indicates how difficult it was for those without professional fisheries skills to enter into the industry.

In order to enable Japanese hegemony in the fishing business, fishing companies played a pivotal role. In addition to exclusively treating landed fish in Honolulu and Hilo, both of which were centers of the fishing industry in the Hawaiian chain, these organizations functioned as primary financiers to Japanese fishermen. The birth and development of fishing companies had multiple effects on the growth and expansion of Japanese fishing fleets and the emergence of relevant industries, such as tuna canneries. The racial relationships of those engaged in the fisheries should be included in the analysis of Japanese fishing activities at sea and marketing. The process of magnifying the Japanese presence in the industry included harmonious as well as frictional encounters with native Hawaiian fishermen and rivalries as well as the establishment of a cooperative working system with Chinese dealers. While native Hawaiians had noticeably diminished their standing in the seascapes of Hawai'i, some of the Chinese had become integrated into the management of Japanese-dominated fishing companies, keeping a fair bit of influence on the wholesaling and retailing of fresh fish in the Islands. In the meantime, the dialogue between Japanese and white rulers was embroidered in far more complicated and inconsistent colors. The potential for friction with white authorities in the Islands continually lurked at the bottom of Hawai'i's waters and occasionally surfaced, as indicated by the introduction of fishing regulations aimed at curbing Japanese operations.

Nevertheless, such prohibitive elements could not stop the rise of the Japanese in Hawaiian waters. Playing a vital role in providing aquatic products to local consumers, these Japanese supported the pillar of Hawai'i's key industries before the beginning of World War II.

NOTES

¹ Gary Y. Okihiro, *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865–1945* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1991) 18.

² Some notable exceptions are: Hans Konrad Van Tilburg, "Vessels of Exchange: The Global Shipwright in the Pacific," *Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cul-*

- tures, and Transoceanic Exchanges, ed. Jerry H. Bentley, Renate Bridenthal, and Kären Wigen (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 2007) 38–52; Donald M. Schug, "Hawai'i's Commercial Fishing Industry: 1820–1945," *HJH*, 35 (2001): 15–34; Hisao Goto, Kazuko Shinoto, and Alexander Spoehr, "Craft History and the Merging of Tool Traditions: Carpenters of Japanese Ancestry in Hawaii," *HJH*, 17 (1983): 156–84; Susan Blackmore Peterson, "Decisions in a Market: A Study of the Honolulu Fish Auction," Ph.D. diss., U of Hawai'i, 1973; Owen K. Konishi, "Fishing Industry of Hawaii with Special Reference to Labor," U of Hawai'i (1930); H. Hamamoto, "The Fishing Industry of Hawaii," B.A. thesis, U of Hawai'i (1928).
- ³ Ishikawa Tomonori, *Nihon imin no chirigakuteki kenkyū* (Ginowan, Okinawa-ken: Yōju shorin, 1997) 465.
 - ⁴ "Nakasuji Gorokichi tokushū" [A special story of Nakasuji Gorokichi], *Nippu Jiji* Apr. 22, 1929: 6.
 - ⁵ Christofer H. Boggs and Bert S. Kikkawa, "The Development and Decline of Hawaii's Skipjack Tuna Fishery," *Marine Fisheries Review*, 55.2 (1993): 62.
 - ⁶ See Nippu Jijisha, *Kan'yaku Imin Hawai tokō goju-shūnen kinenshi* (Honolulu: Nippu Jijisha, 1935) 67; Sōga Yasutarō, *Gojūnenkan no Hawai kaiko* (Honolulu: Gojūnenkan no Hawai kaiko kankōkai, 1953) 501.
 - ⁷ Nippu Jijisha, *Kan'yaku Imin Hawai tokō goju-shūnen kinenshi*, 19.
 - ⁸ Wakayama-ken, ed., *Wakayamaken iminshi* (Wakayama: Wakayama prefectural government, 1957) 511.
 - ⁹ "Nakasuji Gorokichi-rō (2)," *Nippu Jiji* Apr. 22, 1929: 6; "Nakasuji Gorokichi-rō (3)," *Nippu Jiji* Apr. 24, 1929: 7.
 - ¹⁰ Aubrey Haan and Albert L. Tester, "Hawaii's Fishing Industry," *Hawaii Educational Review*, 38.3 (Nov. 1949): 61.
 - ¹¹ Daniel Kahā'ulelio, *Ka'Oihana Lawai'a: Hawaiian Fishing Traditions* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum P, 2006) 25–29.
 - ¹² Margaret Titcomb, *Native Use of Fish in Hawaii* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1972) 13–14.
 - ¹³ Noushōmushō Suisankyoku, ed., *Nihon suisan hosaishi*, 2nd ed. (Tokyo: Iwasaki Bijutsusha, 1983) 173.
 - ¹⁴ "Nakasuji Gorokichi-rō (4)," *Nippu Jiji* Apr. 25, 1929: 7.
 - ¹⁵ Moke Manu, et al., *Hawaiian Fishing Traditions* (Honolulu: Kalamakū Press, 2006) xvi–xvii.
 - ¹⁶ The Publication Committee of "A History of Japanese Immigrants in Hawaii," ed., *Hawai Nihonjin Iminshi* (Honolulu: United Japanese Society of Hawaii, 1964) 311–12.
 - ¹⁷ John N. Cobb, "The Commercial Fisheries of the Hawaiian Islands in 1903," Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of Fisheries (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905) 507.
 - ¹⁸ Cobb, "The Commercial Fisheries of the Hawaiian Islands in 1903," 483, 484, 492, 495.
 - ¹⁹ "Nakasuji Gorokichi-rō (5)," *Nippu Jiji* Apr. 26, 1929: 8.
 - ²⁰ Wakayama-ken, ed., *Wakayama-ken iminshi*, 516.

- ²¹ Gotō Akira, "Hawai Nikkei imin no gyogu to Nanki-chihō no kenken gyohō," *Mingu kenkyū*, 84 (1989): 5.
- ²² "Hawai no katsuo-ryō wa Kishū shushinsha no te ni yoru," *Nippu Jiji* Jan. 10, 1907: 3.
- ²³ "Hawai no katsuo-ryō wa Kishū shushinsha no te ni yoru," 3.
- ²⁴ Sōga, *Gojūnenkan no Hawai kaiko*, 367.
- ²⁵ "Imin Hyakunen," *Hawai Times* Sept. 22, 1966: 6.
- ²⁶ Kida Katsukichi, "Waga chichi o kataru," *Fukkatsu jūgoshūnen kinenshi* (Honolulu: Hawai Wakayama kenjinkai, 1963) 198.
- ²⁷ Konishi, "Fishing Industry of Hawaii with Special Reference to Labor," 28–29; Schug, "Hawai'i's Commercial Fishing Industry: 1820–1945," 23
- ²⁸ The origin of this word might be in South China or Southeast Asia.
- ²⁹ Konishi, "Fishing Industry of Hawaii with Special Reference to Labor," 32.
- ³⁰ Kawaoka Takeharu, *Umi no tami* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1987) 200.
- ³¹ Konishi, "Fishing Industry of Hawaii with Special Reference to Labor," 32.
- ³² "Imin Hyakunen," 6.
- ³³ Michael M. Okihiro and Friends of A'ala, *A'ala: the Story of a Japanese Community in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Japanese Cultural Center of Hawaii, 2003) 25.
- ³⁴ Peterson, "Decisions in a Market," 126.
- ³⁵ S. B. Dole, "The Old Fish Market," Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society (1921): 20.
- ³⁶ "Nicchū nakagainin to gyogyō-gaisha no atsuredi," *Nippu Jiji* Feb. 4, 1910: 1.
- ³⁷ "Nicchū gōdō nakagainin boikotto jiken," *Nippu Jiji* Feb. 4, 1910: 4.
- ³⁸ Dennis M. Ogawa, *Kodomo no tameni: for the sake of the children* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1978) 133.
- ³⁹ "Nicchū nakagainin to gyogyō-gaisha no atsuredi," 1.
- ⁴⁰ "Konogoro no Hawai no gyogyō no yōsu," *Nippu Jiji* Nov. 24, 1908: 4; "The Japanese Tuna Fishermen of Hawaii," *Hawai Hochi* June 5, 1973: 1.
- ⁴¹ Nippu Jiji, *Hawai dōhō hatten kaikoshi* (Honolulu: Nippu Jijisha, 1921) 60; Hawai Shinpōsha, *Hawai Nihonjin Nenkan* (Honolulu: Hawai Shinpōsha) 132–35.
- ⁴² Oliver P. Jenkins, *Report on Collection of Fishes Made in the Hawaiian Islands, with Description of New Species* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903) 419.
- ⁴³ "No-Anti-Japan Bills Are Wanted," *PCA* Feb. 20, 1909: 1–2.
- ⁴⁴ Yoneyama Yū, "Amerika-shi no ekkyō-ka to Nihonjin no kokusai idō: Iminshi no wakugumi no kaitai to saikōchiku ni mukete," *Ritsumeikan bungaku*, 597 (Feb. 2007): 148–49.
- ⁴⁵ Yasutarō Sōga said that the territorial government authorities attempted to curb the activities of the Japanese and imported some hundred Italians from the continent, but for one reason or another, they did not stay long in Hawai'i and returned to the mainland. However, no detailed records have been found to support his argument. Sōga, *Gojūnenkan no Hawai kaiko*, 367.
- ⁴⁶ "Hilo Waiakea Suisan Kabushiki Gaisha funsō rakuchaku no tenmatsu," *Hawai shokumin shinbun* Oct. 4, 1909: 5; Oct. 6, 1909: 5; Oct. 8, 1909: 5; Oct. 11, 1909: 5; Oct. 13, 1909: 5; Oct. 15, 1909: 5; Oct. 18, 1909: 5; Oct. 20, 1909: 5.
- ⁴⁷ "Futatabi nefu mondai ni tsuite," *Hawai Hōchi* Sept. 8, 1913: 4.

- ⁴⁸ “Sengyo gyōshōsha nomi ni eigyōzei ga menjo saretake,” *Nippu Jiji* Oct. 18, 18 1950: 7.
- ⁴⁹ Ōtani Matsujirō, *Waga hito to narishi ashiato-hachijū nen no kaiko* (Honolulu: M. Ōtani & Co., 1971) 37–38.
- ⁵⁰ Goto, Shinoto, and Spoehr, “Craft History and the Merging of Tool Traditions,” 158, 168–70.
- ⁵¹ “Nichibeijin gōdō de kanzume kaisha setsuritsu,” *Nippu Jiji* Sept. 26, 1922: 3.
- ⁵² “Fishing Firm Founder is Still Active at 77,” *HA* Oct. 30, 1955: A7.
- ⁵³ “The Japanese Tuna Fishermen of Hawaii,” 1.
- ⁵⁴ Shimizu Hisao and Shimizu Shizue, personal interview, Mar. 3, 2008. According to the survey of the Japanese Consulate in 1924, 90 percent of the total 1,124 immigrants from Wakayama engaged in fishing, 38 percent of all fishermen on O’ahu. See Wakayama-ken, ed., *Wakayamaken imiinshi*, 512–13.
- ⁵⁵ Onodera Tokuji, ed., *Honolulu Nihonjin shōgyō kaigisho nenpō* (Honolulu: Honolulu Nihonjin shōgyō kaigisho, 1922) 149.
- ⁵⁶ Okihiro, *Cane Fires*, 186.